

## Message Text

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S/S -SRGAMMON

S/P - MR. KORNBLUM (DRAFT)

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BONN

USMISSION USBERLIN

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T STATE 080715

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, UR, GW, WB

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE ALLIED-SOVIET CONSULTATIONS ON BERLIN

1. WE HAVE NOTED WITH INTEREST INCREASING INDICATION IN REPORTING BY EMBASSIES BONN AND BERLIN THAT BOTH SOVIETS AND FRG MAY BELIEVE DIRECT ACTION BY THE FOUR POWERS OFFERS A MEANS OF STRAIGHTENING OUT CONTINUED DIFFICULTIES IN BERLIN. GIVEN THE DISADVANTAGES TO WESTERN AND AMERICAN INTERESTS WHICH SUCH A STEP WOULD ENTAIL, WE BELIEVE THAT OVER THE COMING MONTHS IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO MAKE CLEAR THAT WE DO NOT SEE FOUR POWER INTERVENTION AS AN APPROPRIATE

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MEANS OF HANDLING THE TYPES OF PROBLEMS NOW BEING

EXPERIENCED IN BERLIN.

2. OUR MAIN CONCERN CONTINUES TO BE THAT INITIATION OF FOUR POWER CONTACTS COULD BE USED AS A MEANS TO REVISE PORTIONS OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT SUCH AS FRG-BERLIN TIES AND FOREIGN REPRESENTATION WHICH APPEAR UNSATISFACTORY TO THE EASTERN SIDE. THESE ARE TWO SUBJECTS WHERE LANGUAGE IN THE QA IS THE BEST WHICH COULD BE HOPED FOR UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS. FOUR POWER ACTION COULD ONLY

RESULT IN AN EROSION OF OUR POSITION AND IT IS HARD TO SEE HOW WE COULD COME OUT AHEAD IN SUCH AN EXCHANGE. FALIN'S REFERENCE TO POSSIBLE FOUR POWER DISCUSSION OF "ESTABLISHED PROCEDURES" IN PARA SIX OF BONN 5526 IS AN INTIMATION OF WHAT COULD BE EXPECTED.

3. A FURTHER PROBLEM IS THE EFFECT FOUR POWER ACTION WOULD HAVE ON THE FRG TENDENCY TO PLACE RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEFENDING FEDERAL GOVERNMENT POSITIONS CONCERNING BERLIN ON THE THREE WESTERN ALLIES. ESTABLISHING SUCH

A PRECEDENT COULD LEAD TO FUTURE PRESSURE FROM OPPOSITION OR GOVERNMENT CIRCLES FOR ALLIED "ACTION" WITH THE SOVIETS IN THE FACE OF REAL OR IMAGINED COMMUNIST VIOLATIONS IN BERLIN. GIVEN THE CONTINUING DOMESTIC CONTROVERSY OVER BERLIN ISSUES IN THE FRG, SUCH A DEVELOPMENT WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF PLACING THE THREE POWERS CONTINUALLY IN THE MIDDLE OF THE INTERNAL FRG POLITICAL DEBATE.

4. FOR BONN AND US BERLIN: EMBASSY AND MISSION SHOULD, IN THE COURSE OF REGULAR DISCUSSIONS OF BERLIN MATTERS WITH FRG, SENATE AND SOVIET OFFICIALS, DISCOURAGE CONSIDERATION OF FOUR POWER INTERVENTION AS MEANS OF

HANDLING PRESENT SITUATION IN BERLIN. A MAJOR EMPHASIS IN CONTACTS WITH FRG AND SENAT OFFICIALS SHOULD BE THE POINTS IN PARA TWO ABOVE. IN DISCUSSIONS WITH BOTH GERMANS AND SOVIETS, FOLLOWING POINTS SHOULD ALSO BE MENTIONED:

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A. WE CONTINUE TO STAND BY OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO ENSURE CORRECT IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL PORTIONS OF THE QA. WE BELIEVE PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS PROVIDE A BASIS FOR SATISFACTORY HANDLING OF THE QUESTIONS INVOLVED.

B. WHILE ALL SECTIONS OF THE QA REPRESENT A BALANCE OF INTERESTS, THE FEDERAL PRESENCE AND FOREIGN REPRE-

SENTATION AREAS ARE MOST OPEN TO VARYING INTERPRETATION.

C. WE ARE NOT TOTALLY SATISFIED WITH THE WAY THINGS  
HAVE BEEN DEVELOPING FROM THE WESTERN POINT OF VIEW,  
WHILE THE SOVIETS SEE PROBLEMS FROM THEIR PERSPECTIVE.  
BUT WHATEVER OUR POINTS OF VIEW, WE HOPE T;AT BOTH  
SIDES WILL CONTINUE EFFORTS TO DEAL WITH THESE  
POLITICAL DIFFERENCES THROUGH ESTABLISHED CHANNELS FOR  
CONTACTS ON BERLIN.

5. FOR ALL ADDRESSEES: WE REMAIN INTERESTED IN ANY  
INDICATION THAT FRG, SOVIETS, OR UK AND FRENCH MIGHT  
BE INTERESTED IN FOUR POWER ACTION ON BERLIN. KISSINGER

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